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ABSTRACT

Based on a research study carried out in the mid-1970s, this paper traces the Puerto Rican immigration into Milwaukee and provides an overview of the economic and social conditions which fostered the growth of Milwaukee's Puerto Rican population. Also discussed are Puerto Rican family and household characteristics, religion, jobs and income, and health care. The Puerto Rican neighborhood is examined in terms of its housing, community organizations, recreation, and transportation. The political climate of the Puerto Rican community is described as being marked by indifference and disunity. The various stages that the educational process has undergone through the years in meeting the needs of Puerto Rican students are described, with particular attention given to the growth of bilingual/bicultural programs. In addition, the prospect of Puerto Ricans maintaining their ethnic identity into the 1980s is discussed. Appendices list comments by Puerto Rican individuals regarding such factors as language problems, health care, youth problems, neighborhood problems, recreation, transportation, and organization participation. (EB)

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A SURVEY OF THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY ON MILWAUKEE'S NORTHEAST SIDE IN 1976

by
Cristóbal S. Berry-Cabán

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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THE MILWAUKEE URBAN OBSERVATORY

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Winter, 1977

PREFACE

The Observatory is pleased to present A SURVEY OF THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY ON MILWAUKEE'S NORTHEAST SIDE IN 1976, the findings of a study conducted by the Puerto Rican Organization of Wisconsin.

The Puerto Rican Organization undertook this project to assist in determining needs of the larger Puerto Rican community in Milwaukee. They worked very hard to accomplish this. Their sample was as representative as possible under the circumstances; findings are related to history and other facts and figures; and, individual perceptions are included in appendices.

The Observatory would like to commend the Puerto Rican Organization and its representatives for organizing and conducting the study. We extend our appreciation to the author of this manuscript, too. Mr. Cristóbal S. Berry-Cabán ably wove the web of history and perception around coded responses of respondents.

The Observatory is reproducing and distributing this document because it adds to the knowledge base of what we know about Milwaukee and its people, and because we hope it furthers understanding, knowledge about and empathy for another of Milwaukee's more recently arrived ethnic groups.

Miriam G. Palay
Program Director

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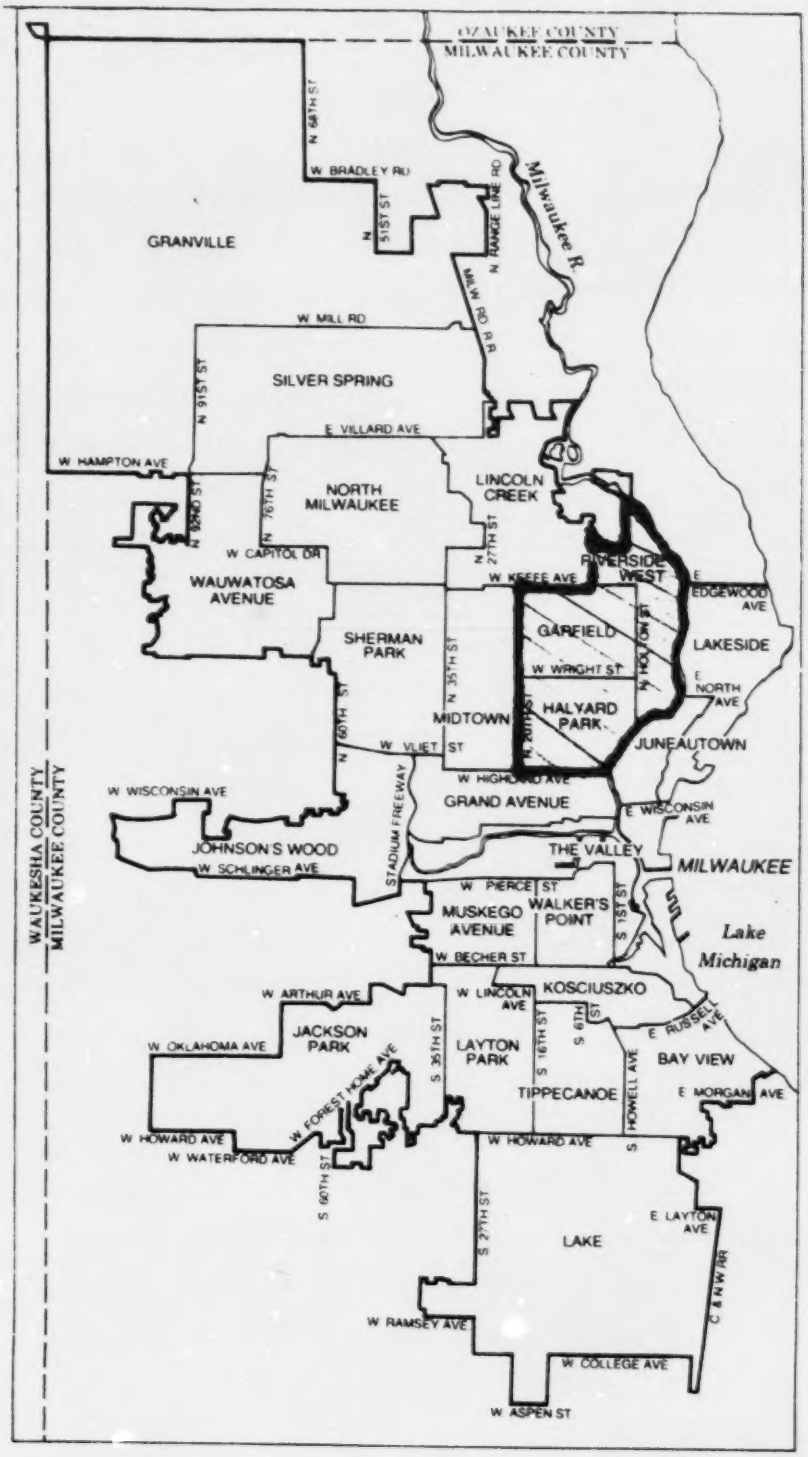
INTRODUCTION

The Puerto Rican community has lived in Milwaukee for more than a quarter century. But, regardless of time and population numbers, very little has been written on this segment of Milwaukee's population.

This report cannot fully capture what it has meant and means to be a Puerto Rican living in Milwaukee. But something of value to the Puerto Rican community and Milwaukee, to ethnic history and the study of migration and population movements can be gathered from the collective and somewhat alienated experience which statistical and historical research offers.

The initial Puerto Rican settlement was spread out along State Street from Jefferson to Thirty-fifth Street. Today, the area on the Northeast side, around the intersection of Holton and Center Streets is most identified as Puerto Rican and includes census tracts, 69, 70, 71, 72, 79, 80, 81, 82, 105, 106, 107, and 114, (see map on following page). Puerto Ricans are also found on the South side in what was once predominantly a Mexican and Chicano area. A small number of Puerto Ricans can be found on the West side, too, between Twelfth and Fortieth Streets and between North Avenue and the Menomonee River Valley.

Estimates of the correct number of Puerto Ricans living in Milwaukee are not easily and accurately determined. In 1953, Dr. Rudolph Morris reported, "(t)he only facts known about the Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee was (sic) that there was (sic) about 2,500 and that their number was steadily increasing." The U.S. Census of 1960 shows 2,820 persons of Puerto Rican birth or heritage living in Milwaukee. By 1970 this figure increased to 5,889.[1]



Area Covered by Survey

But, most data regarding the Puerto Ricans are subject to error, partly by reason of an undercount of Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking minorities in the Census and other public data collection activities, and because of poorly defined ethnic categories.[2] In 1950, only Mexican birth was reported for persons of "Spanish" background in Milwaukee. In 1960, both Mexican and Puerto Rican "stock" were recorded. In 1970, five indicators were used; a) persons reporting Spanish as their native language, including persons in families in which the household head and/or spouse reported Spanish as his or her native language; b) persons both outside the United States or of parents both outside the United States; c) persons self-identified as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American; d) persons of Spanish heritage, which in New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia meant Puerto Rican, and e) persons with Spanish surname, recorded only in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.

The table on the following page enumerates as accurately as possible the estimated Puerto Rican population in Milwaukee for various years.

More detailed information about this population has not been available until now. The Puerto Rican Organization recognized this problem for a long time. By 1976, its officers were able to develop a methodology for securing the kind of data they hoped would help them plan and program for Milwaukee's Puerto Rican community. They enlisted the help of their own members and selected persons in city and university offices as well. The survey itself was supported by the City of Milwaukee.

This narrative is based on data that resulted from their work. The project involved seven major phases:

Table I

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION GROWTH

Milwaukee, 1950-1960

Year	Population	Source
1950	310	Our Estimate
1951	970	Idem.
1952	2000	Idem.
1953	2500	Morris, "Some Aspects," Page 1.
1955	2000	The Milwaukee Journal 13 November, 1955
1958	4000	Ibid, 7 April, 1955
1960	2890	1960 U.S. Census
1970	5889	1970 U.S. Census, Persons of Spanish Ancestry, PC (SI)-30 February, 1973 Table 2

(1) Members of the organization reviewed other documents on Milwaukee's Puerto Rican community. Some facts and figures were gathered from these and names and addresses of all Latin surnamed families in the 12 census tracts identified as most Puerto Rican were identified. Between four and five hundred names were listed. (The study area is composed of these census tracts.)

(2) A questionnaire was drafted by members of the Puerto Rican Organization. They were assisted in this by Eugene Seidel of the city's Legislative Reference Bureau and other researchers in the Milwaukee area.

(3) Field workers were trained and supervised by Ramona Chavez of the Puerto Rican Organization. Some pre-testing of the questionnaire was done. After a number of revisions, the questionnaire was ready for use.

(4) The same field workers completed 200 interviews in the study area. As it turned out, the proportion of interviews to census tracts was almost the same as the proportion of Latin surnamed families to census tracts. Also, although only one member per household was interviewed, some data were obtained about other members in that same household. Thus, this study discusses needs and characteristics, in some cases, for as many as 800 persons. It is for these reasons the Puerto Rican Organization believes the data can be used to describe a greater proportion of the Puerto Rican community.

(5) An appropriate code sheet was then constructed. Puerto Rican Organization members worked on this along with Professors Ricardo Fernández and José Hernández of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Extension, and Daniel V. Folkman, University of Wisconsin-Extension.

(6) A preliminary statistical readout was prepared by Carla Garnham, Social Science Research Facility, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Frequency counts and percent distributions were presented for each question.

(7) An overall analysis of the survey data and supporting documents was begun in May, 1977. Members of the Puerto Rican Organization discussed the findings with Professors Fernández and Hernández, Luis (Tony) Báez, and Cristóbal S. Berry-Cabán. The analysis of that data resulted in the present report.

MIGRATION TO MILWAUKEE

Puerto Ricans began arriving in Milwaukee during the late 1940's. The migration can be divided into four periods: a) from the post-World War II to 1950 by which time some 300 Puerto Ricans arrived in Milwaukee; b) from 1950 to 1952 when the earlier estimated population increased to 2500; c) from 1952 to 1958; and d) from 1958 to present.[3]

Arriving from a small Spanish-speaking Caribbean island situated roughly midway between North and South America in terms of geography, culture and living standards, the Puerto Ricans envisioned Milwaukee as an opportunity to seek the "American Dream."

The first migrants to arrive in Milwaukee were contract agricultural laborers, brought to Michigan to harvest field crops. A large number of them continued on to Chicago and from there some arrived in Milwaukee. Still other Puerto Ricans migrated to Milwaukee from Lorain, Ohio, another industrial city, which has one of the longest standing Puerto Rican settlements in the midwest. These first pioneers were able to find jobs, especially in the boom year of 1950, and principally in foundries and tanneries located on the South side of the city.

Clarence Senior has correctly classified the second stage of the Puerto Rican migration to Milwaukee, the years 1950-1952, as an "organized" migration.[4] This involved the direct recruitment of Puerto Ricans from the island. According to Willet S. Main, who once served as Milwaukee District manager for the Wisconsin State Employment Service, a number of local employers inquired at the Milwaukee office about getting more Puerto Rican migrant laborers. Recruitment was conducted through the Chicago office of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, headed at the time by Antonio Vega. During

this period, the Migration Division of the Commonwealth Department of Labor worked under an agreement with the Bureau of Employment Service in assuring that no Puerto Rican workers from the island would be placed in areas experiencing labor surpluses.

By April 26, 1951, final arrangements were made by the Wisconsin State Employment Service for recruitment in Puerto Rico and an initial group of ten workers was sent. Arrangements were then made to continue the recruitment on the island. Puerto Rican laborers were to be sent to Milwaukee at company expense when requests were made.[5]

In 1953 Dr. Rudolph Morris of Marquette University conducted a survey to determine migrants' reasons for coming to Milwaukee. This project was motivated by what many officials had begun to perceive as a "Puerto Rican problem." As shown on Table II on the following page, the study found that many in-migrants came following spouses, relatives, or friends who were already living here. The table shows that about 10 percent arrived as migrant workers encouraged by Milwaukee companies and the Office of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor in Chicago. The study found, too, that more than half of those surveyed had previously worked on sugar cane plantations or had done other farm work.

Morris perceived the study from a sociological point of view which ascertained (within its limitations) attitudes and problems related to acculturation. But he was unable to perceive the root causes of migration and could only suggest that "(i)f one could make the Puerto Rican aware that they are entitled to participate in their own affairs and in all matters of public interest he (sic) would help them to be assimilated in a faster tempo and become more acceptable to the 'natives'."[6]

Table II

REASONS FOR COMING TO MILWAUKEE, 1952

Social	Percent
The family is here	
a. Husband or wife	5.6
b. Other relatives	32.8
Friends are here	27.2
Economic	
Economic reasons	19.6
Disliked New York (less wages)	3.8
Tired of Chicago	.9
Received Milwaukee job offer in Puerto Rico	1.8
Received Milwaukee job offer in U.S. from Grede Foundries and Maynard Steel	5.6
Advertisement	1.8
Office of Puerto Rico in Chicago	.9
	100.0

Source: Rudolph Morris, "Some Aspects," p. 29

Others apparently felt this way, too. In 1952, a "temporary Puerto Rican Committee was formed to facilitate the newcomers" adjustment. Pamphlets on Milwaukee's "customs," churches and schools for the Puerto Rican community were published in an attempt to inform the Puerto Rican about the new environment.[7]

In 1963, an economic depression forced many Puerto Ricans to return to Puerto Rico. Plagued by poor housing, low income jobs and low educational attainment, the plight of the Puerto Ricans who stayed became more complicated as the community grew once more.

This background material describes, in outline form, the social and economic conditions that served as a framework for the mass arrival of Puerto Ricans to Milwaukee. But the real story of the Puerto Rican migrant in Milwaukee does not terminate with their advent to this metropolis. On the contrary, this is where the story begins...with the people themselves.

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

In rural Puerto Rico, the typical family follows the traditional Latin American pattern which attributes strong authority to the father. Accordingly, it is thought the mother should defer to the husband. The children respect their father, but adore their mother, and any insult to her no matter how direct or indirect is considered an offense. The rural family also has an extended network of close relations in which grandparents, cousins, uncles and aunts may live with the parents and children or frequently share their life.[8] A woman transfers from her father's authority to that of her husband, with little chance for advanced formal education. And yet her role as mother, includes responsibility for the children's education.

The average Puerto Rican family in Milwaukee has approximately four members per household and nearly 76 percent of all Puerto Rican families have children under 18 years of age.[9] These figures are somewhat higher than the average for the United States population, but are not unusual for groups--primarily composed of young adult and middle aged parents. The pattern of household composition is different, however.

In 1970, about 12 percent of all families in the United States were headed by women, while comparable survey figures for Milwaukee in 1976 (Table III) show that women headed 24 percent of Puerto Rican families.[10] This situation is evidently at variance with the traditional Puerto Rican pattern just described. It is nevertheless typical of recent Puerto Rican communities in the United States.

Table III

HOUSEHOLD MAKE UP

	Number	Percent
(1) Husband, wife with children	107	53.5
(2) Husband, wife, no children	16	8.0
(3) Female, head of household, with children	48	24.0
(4) Male, head of household, with children	8	4.0
(5) Other family group	8	4.0
(6) Single person living alone, other non-family households	13	6.5
	200	100.0

LANGUAGE

The Puerto Rican survey showed that even though 70 percent of the respondents spoke some English, 43.5 percent said they spoke only Spanish to their children, while only 4.5 percent said they spoke only English to their children. These results resemble data available nationally. Among Puerto Ricans in the United States in 1970, only 16 percent reported English as their native language while three out of four, or 75 percent, said that Spanish was the language usually spoken at home.

In Milwaukee this has stimulated communication media in the Spanish language--newspapers, radio and television programs. For example, La Guardia is a bilingual, socialist oriented monthly newspaper. Even though some still suggest it receives little support from the Puerto Rican community, it has a considerable distribution and is read by 8 percent of survey respondents.[11]

Table IV shows much higher support for television programs such as Villa Alegre, Carrascolendas, Panorama Hispano and Para Usted, shown weekly on WMVS-TV Channel 10, a public broadcasting station. A significant proportion of persons interviewed also listen to weekly programs of Latin Music on radio stations WUWM and WAWA.

Table IV

PUERTO RICAN RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SPANISH LANGUAGE, RADIO, TELEVISION AND PUBLICATION USE

	Percent of All Respondents
TELEVISION	
(1) Channel 10	
(a) Villa Alegre	20.6
(b) Carrascolendas	14.1
(c) Panorama Hispano	24.1
(d) Para Usted	6.5
(e) Other Spanish language programs	10.8
RADIO	
(1) WUWM	9.7
(a) Salsa y Bembé	51.6
(b) Raíces Latinas	30.6
(c) Other Spanish language programs	8.1
(2) WAWA	31.0
(a) Amador Santiago	56.3
(b) Other Spanish language programs	12.7
SPANISH PUBLICATIONS READ	
(a) Books	5.8
(b) Bible	20.9
(c) El Diario (New York)	6.9
(d) El Día (Puerto Rico)	6.9
(e) Novelas	46.6
(f) Temas	4.7
(g) La Guardia	8.2
ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS READ	
(a) Milwaukee Journal	64.4
(b) Milwaukee Sentinel	23.3
(c) Bible Stories	.6
(d) National Magazines (e.g. Time, People, etc.)	11.8

A wide range of Spanish literature is read from the Bible to novelas, but Spanish newspapers from Puerto Rico and New York were not mentioned by many respondents. Instead, a large percent of those questioned said they read the principal Milwaukee newspapers in English - 64.4 percent read the Milwaukee Journal and 23.3 percent said they read the Milwaukee Sentinel.

Empirical evidence, however, shows that few Puerto Ricans read at all. Thus, responses to questions about what they read cannot be construed as meaning that the English dominated media is of informational value to the Puerto Rican community. They might be construed, instead, as implying that respondents are familiar, at least, with the names of the city's principal newspapers. Although most Puerto Ricans claim a knowledge of English, the lack of sufficient verbal and literacy skills is a problem for many, both young and old. One young female interviewed in the survey commented, "(I) have difficulties because (I) have not learned English."[12] Knowledge of English was also desired in order to obtain better paying jobs.

RELIGION

The vast majority of Puerto Ricans interviewed in Milwaukee identify themselves as Roman Catholic. But the prevailing mood is a "womb to tomb" Catholicism, including Church services for baptism, confirmation, marriage and the annointing of the sick. In Milwaukee, many Catholic Puerto Ricans attend what is known as an integrated parish. This means that an existing parish attended by the majority of the Puerto Ricans is staffed by one or more priests who speak Spanish. Thus, special masses and services are provided for them in their native language, Spanish.

In 1953 most Puerto Ricans attended churches on the southside or downtown--Holy Trinity, Our Lady of Gaudalupe Church, St. John's Cathedral and Gesu Church. Twenty-three years later most Puerto Ricans surveyed on Milwaukee's northeast side attend services at St. Francis, St. Casimir or Old St. Mary's Church, all located in the area covered by the study. (See Table V.)

Table V

CHURCH ATTENDED*

	1953	1976**
Gesu Church 1202 West Wisconsin	3.5%	---
Holy Trinity-Our Lady of Guadalupe*** 613 South Fourth Street	26.8%	1.0%
Old St. Mary's Church 836 North Broadway	---	10.5%
St. Benedict the Moor 1027 North Ninth Street	1.8%	---
St. Boniface Church 1122 West Clarke Street	.8%	---
St. Casimir Parish 2618 North Bremen	---	13.0%
St. Francis Church 1927 North Fourth Street	---	34.0%
St. John's Cathedral 802 North Jackson	16.0%	---
St. Rita's Parish 1621 North Cass Street	1.8%	---
Don't go to Church or attend other churches	49.3%	41.5%

*All Churches listed are Roman Catholic.

**It must be pointed out that the Puerto Rican Organization survey of 1976 was limited to Census tracts located on the Eastside.

***In 1966, in order to better serve the people of the community, Our Lady of Guadalupe, located on South Fourth Street and Washington merged with Holy Trinity Church. The figure from the Morris survey includes 16 percent of the parishioners attending Our Lady of Guadalupe before the merger.

It is extremely difficult to evaluate non-Catholic religious activity among Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee and more difficult to get accurate information about the overall Protestant population. Table VI shows that 1.8 percent of Puerto Ricans surveyed by Morris in 1953 were affiliated with a Protestant sect and that this proportion was almost the same for the 1976 study - 1.5 percent of those surveyed identified themselves with Protestant groups.

Table VI

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AND PARTICIPATION OF RESPONDENTS

RELIGION	1953	1976
(a) Catholic	89.1%	82.5%
(b) Fundamentalist*	7.3%	10.5%
(c) Protestant	1.8%	1.5%
(d) Spiritualists	----	----
(e) NA (non-applicable)	1.8%	5.5%
CHURCH ATTENDANCE		
(a) Weekly	48.2%	43.5%
(b) Occasionally	3.6%	43.5%
(c) Never	39.3%	11.0%
(d) NA (non-applicable)	8.9%	2.0%
ATTEND CHURCH SERVICES IN SPANISH		
(a) Yes	17.0%	65.0%
(b) No	79.0%	20.5%
(c) NA (non-applicable)	4.0%	14.5%

*Pentecostal; Apostolic; Evangelical; Alleluiah; Seventh Day Adventist; Baptist; Jehovah's Witness.

At the same time membership in Fundamentalist groups grew.[13] In 1953, 7.3 percent of those interviewed attended Fundamentalist services. In the 1976 survey, this figure had increased by 3.2 percent to 10.5 percent. While it is doubtful that their influence will be widespread enough to give character to the entire Puerto Rican community, participation of Puerto Ricans in the Fundamentalist churches is growing.

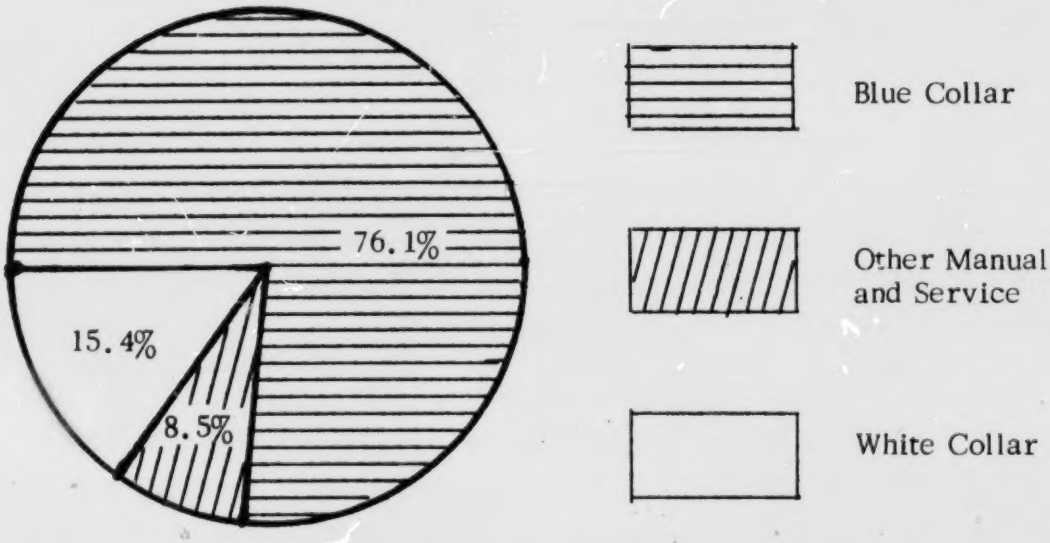
One other aspect of religion that must be mentioned is the widespread interest in Spiritualism. Spiritualism is a form of religious practice rooted in the belief that a person can establish contact with the spirit world and can use his power to influence the spirits. While no respondents openly acknowledged this practice in the 1953 or 1976 surveys, botánicas, stores that sell herbs, potions, prayers and ritual instructions, are abundant in the Puerto Rican and Latino community.[14] It is also well known that Puerto Ricans who identify as Catholic also participate in spiritualist activities and do not see much contradictions in the practice.

JOBS AND INCOME

Puerto Rican labor is heavily concentrated in low-skilled, menial jobs. Among those interviewed in Milwaukee in 1976 who were employed, 84.6 percent worked as factory operatives, or in other blue-collar or menial service jobs in restaurants and building maintenance. A significant number worked in tanneries, breweries and foundries.

(See Figure 1, next page.)

Figure 1



OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED PUERTO RICANS
1976 SURVEY

Puerto Ricans face several barriers in their attempt to obtain the better paying jobs - especially language discrimination and long established forms of racism. Because of their limited English, many Puerto Ricans must rely on informal sources of job information - friends, relatives or chance communication ("I just heard of it") - instead of such formal channels as radio, television or the newspapers. Once a job prospect is located limited English abilities further reduce chances for employment. Most employment sources do not have applications in Spanish, much less Spanish-speaking personnel to assist the applicant. If Puerto Ricans are hired, they often find that difficulties in communication with supervisors and fellow employees may lead to early dismissal. This makes the saying, "Last hired, first fired," a cruel reality.

Many of the respondents interviewed complained about the language barrier to a good job. "I need assistance in communicating my needs, for example,

in writing forms. I need a translator constantly," complained a 55 year old man.[16] A young woman also complained that, "language has created problems, (for us) when applying for jobs."[17]

Puerto Ricans have the highest unemployment rate of virtually all ethnic or racial groups in the United States. According to March 1972 figures, while 6 percent of all U.S. men were jobless, that figure was 8.8 percent for Puerto Rican men. Among women, the unemployment rate was 6.6 percent nationwide and 17.6 percent for Puerto Rican females.

In Milwaukee these figures are even bleaker. The Puerto Rican Organization Survey found that 35 percent of those interviewed were unemployed. If this is true of the larger Puerto Rican community, then about one of every three working age Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee is without a job.

Job training is a relatively new concept in the United States. The first comprehensive federal program was created in 1962 by the Manpower Development and Training Act. During the next decade, job training programs such as the Job Corps and the Work-Training Program were enacted to aid the disadvantaged unemployed worker.

Job training is most important for the Puerto Rican. A New York survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics published in 1972, found that about one-eighth of the Puerto Rican labor force in New York City's poverty areas has completed one or more training programs, mainly in school or in the Armed Forces. Unemployment among workers completing job training programs was 5.2 percent compared with 10.3 percent for those without training.[18] Other studies also find higher rates of labor force participation and employment for Puerto Ricans with job training.

In Milwaukee, job training mainly involves CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) monies, S.E.R. Jobs for Progress and OIC (Oppor-

tunities Industrialization Center). How many Puerto Ricans have been or are involved in job training programs was not ascertained by this study.

Although social scientists still argue over definitions for poverty, most people consider themselves and others as poor if not enough money is available for such basic necessities as food, shelter, clothing and medical services.[19] There is a government definition of poverty, however. It relates income to the number of persons in a household, and the current level of consumer prices. For example, in 1975 a family of four was considered poor if its income level was $5,500 or less.[20] Generally speaking, people below the poverty level include more than the average numbers of women heading families, children, the uneducated, the aged, or members of minority groups.

In March 1975, a U.S. Census Bureau survey revealed that Puerto Rican families received a median income of only $7,629, the lowest among Latino groups, nationally.[21] The 1976 Puerto Rican Organization survey in Milwaukee showed that the local income level for families interviewed was substantially lower than the national figure. The survey (Figure 2) showed a median family income of only $6,250, a figure below Federal government poverty figures for larger household sizes.

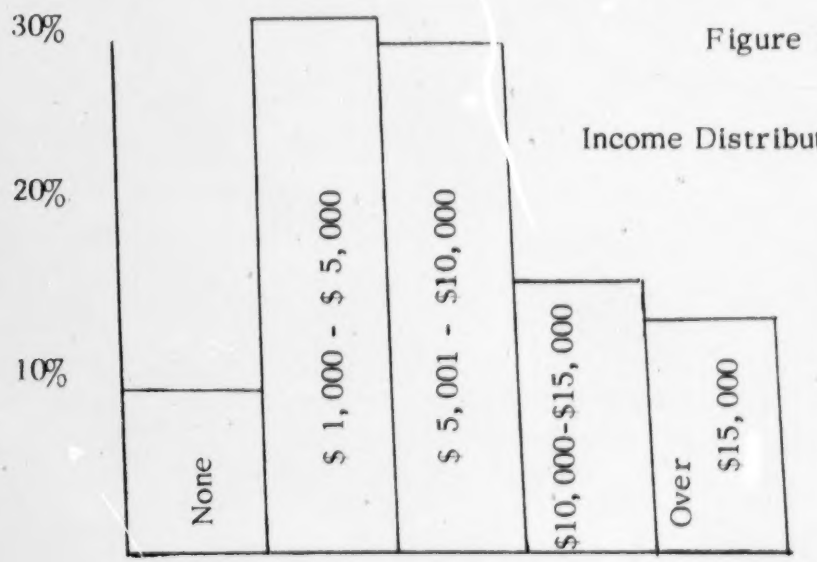


Figure 2

Income Distribution, 1975

HEALTH CARE

From early childhood to old age the Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee suffer from poor nutrition and inadequate medical treatment. Health is a purchasable commodity which few Puerto Ricans can afford; thus, health care, including preventive medicine, is not readily available.

During the early years of the migration the greatest problem affecting the Puerto Rican in Milwaukee was malnutrition. In his 1953 study, Morris found 4.65 percent of Puerto Ricans interviewed unable to use medical facilities because of the lack of information.[22] Two and a half decades later the problem still exists. The Puerto Rican Organization Survey found that 28.5 percent of those interviewed have difficulty in obtaining medical aid. They attribute this primarily to language difficulties.

In the early 1950's few Puerto Ricans had access to a family physician. In 1976 this picture was considerably brighter for persons interviewed. Sixty-five percent of the respondents named a family doctor and another high percent (66.5 percent) had some sort of family health insurance. A sizable proportion frequented various kinds of medical facilities. The largest number of vists were made to St. Mary's Hospital, also on the northeast side.

(See Table VII)

Table VII

FACILITIES FREQUENTED IN LAST TWO YEARS, 1974-1976

(Number of Times Mentioned

	Frequency	Percent
7th & Madison Clinic	2	.6
Clinic on Holton Street	3	1.0
Guadalupe Clinic	4	1.3
Doctor's/Family Hospital	7	2.2
St. Luke's Hospital	10	3.1
Deaconess Hospital	12	3.8
Mt. Sinai Hospital	18	5.7
County General Hospital	29	9.1
Columbia Hospital	45	14.1
Private MD	50	15.7
Children's Hospital	56	17.6
St. Mary's Hospital	82	25.8
Total Visits	318	100.0

HOUSING

Housing and income are closely related; where people live is generally determined by job market condition. Whether a person owns or rents a home is also affected by income. At the national level, only 14.8 percent of Puerto Ricans live in dwellings they own. In Milwaukee this figure appears to be significantly higher; 39 percent of those interviewed owned their homes.

The 1953 Morris report found the housing situation among the Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee to be bad in almost every respect. Of 112 persons interviewed, 68 people responded that they lived in a room by themselves or with more people. "The living conditions are terrible," commented one married woman who paid $16 a week for a single room with no bathroom or heating, in the State Street - Van Buren area. She believed it was unfair for the "Puerto Rican people who must pay high rent for 4, 5, 6, 7 people to live in two or three dirty crowded rooms."[23]

By 1958 the situation had grown worse. Some families were forced to move in with relatives, adding to the already serious problem of overcrowding. An article in the Milwaukee Journal pointed out that in 1958 there were only 24 Puerto Rican families in the city's 2,849 public housing units - less than one percent.[24] The plight of the Puerto Rican tenant in Milwaukee has not changed much over the years. Even today many live in deteriorating and delapidated dwellings.

The 1976 survey found that 56 percent of the respondents paid between $101 - $150 monthly rent or mortgage paments. A small number (10 percent) paid $151 or more and 23.5 percent paid $100 or less. In addition to rent, the survey found that 95.1 percent of those interviewed pay for utilities, both

gas and electricity; 55.4 percent pay for water consumption and .9 percent pay for oil. (See Table VIII.)

Making high rent or mortgage and utility payments does not preclude problems. Many respondents reported that their homes are frequently plagued by such things as inadequate heat, bad maintenance, rats and insects, and landlord problems in general. Fear for safety was also cited as an important problem, but in spite of a high crime rate in this area of the city, a majority of those questioned in the 1976 Survey (68 percent) said they felt safe in their present neighborhood.

Table VIII

MONTHLY RENT OR MORTGAGE PAYMENT

	Frequency	Percent
$100 or less	47	23.5
$101 - 125	50	25.0
$126 - 150	62	31.0
$151 - 175	10	5.0
$176 or more	10	5.0
Pay nothing	5	2.5
NA	16	8.0
	200	100.0

UTILITIES PAID FOR IN ADDITION TO RENT

	Frequency	Percent
Electricity	176	95.1
Gas	176	95.1
Oil	1	.9
Water	77	55.4

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

It is difficult to present a concise yet comprehensive picture of Puerto Rican community organizations. In spite of this a brief account of some which have played a significant role in the history of the Puerto Rican community in Milwaukee is presented below.

A temporary Puerto Rican committee was organized as long ago as 1952. This committee was "organized to help recently arrived Puerto Ricans to become acclimated to Milwaukee." The committee dealt with "housing, local customs, health, welfare, banking, industrial matters, government and voting, recreation and religious problems."[25] For many years this committee was the only organization serving the needs of the Puerto Ricans.

The present Puerto Rican Organization of Wisconsin, Inc., however, evolved out of an earlier organization called the Puerto Rican Democratic Organization, Inc. This group was incorporated on January 19, 1961. While the expressed purposes of the earlier Puerto Rican Democratic Organization were, "To provide an opportunity for residents to meet together to combine ideas for promoting the general welfare of the community and city. (and) To stress patriotism and civic pride in order to live harmoniously in the true spirit of Americanism,"[26] this organization was primarily oriented toward social activities, such as dances, dinners, picnics, etc.

Today, however, the major Puerto Rican organization, The Puerto Rican Organization of Wisconsin, Inc., has new and more extensive goals. It has two major objectives. First, it aims to identify the Puerto Rican community of Milwaukee, as a group, with its particular ethnic and cultural heritage. Secondly, it seeks to improve the community's political, economic and social status. In 1977 the Puerto Rican Organization attempted to embark

on an ambitious re-organization and expansion program called "Plan Pa'lante." But plagued by a lack of sufficient funds, a non-professional staff and a drain of public resources to South side Milwaukee Hispano agencies, the organization has had great difficulty in making progress towards being able to deliver a comprehensive program of services to the community on the northeast side. In spite of this, forty-seven percent of the Puerto Ricans interviewed in the 1976 study listed the Puerto Rican Organization as the major organization serving the community, and most respondents said they were inclined to ask the Puerto Rican Organization for employment help. The Puerto Rican Center, an organization that no longer exists, was the second major organization in the community recognized by those surveyed.

There is a wide range of other organizations which are centers for social activity, mutual help and supportive services. UMOS (United Migrant Opportunity Services), the Eastside Housing Coalition, and El Centro Hispano, help Puerto Ricans with employment, housing and financial aid problems. There are action groups, too. The City-Wide Bilingual Bicultural Advisory Committee, a parent group which carries on a vigorous campaign for the improvement and maintenance of the bilingual education program in the city, is an important one of these. Founded by concerned Hispanic parents (Chicanos and Puerto Ricans), the program is, today a model for other parent action groups.

RECREATION

Recreation has always been dear to the hearts of most Puerto Ricans. As an example of this, seventy percent of school age and young adult Puerto Ricans expressed interest in active sports as their favorite pastime. But participation in active sports is difficult. Aurora Weier pointed this out in her testimony at a public hearing held in Milwaukee before the Governor's Council for Spanish Speaking People when she said "(a) recreational program

for Hispano kids (is needed) there are very few areas in the east/north sides with adequate facilities. Personnel in existing parks are not Hispanos and the children don't have anyone there to identify with."[27] These themes were repeated over and over again at these public hearings.

According to the survey, the United Community Center, known as the SPOT, located at 1028 South Ninth Street, is the most important pre-teen and teenage center. This center serves not only the Puerto Rican and Latino community but also the entire South side community at large. But even this comfortable facility is overcrowded on weeknights year round and in the daytime during the summer. A sizeable number of respondents said that many young children are forced to play in the streets, in yards or inside the house because too few parks are located near the neighborhood. They also said that youngsters also end up watching television as another alternative.

Among young adults, dancing is a major recreational activity. Among older adult respondents, staying home is high on the list. In the solitude of his home, the Milwaukee Puerto Rican can enjoy a leisure game of dominoes with neighbors or listen to salsa recordings from the early 1960's. Television is also high on the lists of adult pastimes (19.4 percent) and movie theatres are frequented occasionally.

TRANSPORTATION

Access to good transportation is essential for most persons. In recent years, new job opportunities, except for those in the service sector, tend to occur "at a considerable reverse commuting distance from those central city residents most in need of them, while public transit systems are not always equipped to meet the rising demand for reverse community facilities."[28]

This mismatch of jobs and workers is further aggravated by the fact that few Puerto Rican inner city residents can afford housing in the suburbs. Furthermore, even fewer of them ever learn about suburban jobs.[29]

In the Puerto Rican Survey, 126 of the 200 households involved in the questionnaire could boast ownership of a family automobile, a necessity, not a luxury, for many poor families. The second most often mentioned form of transportation was the public bus (43 percent). (See Table IX.)

Table IX

FAMILIES OWNING AN AUTOMOBILE

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	126	63.6
No	72	36.4
	198	100.0

TRANSPORTATION USED IN LIEU OF AUTOMOBILE

	Frequency	Percent
Bus	140	43.0
Taxicab	26	7.0
Bicycle	44	13.0
Walking	98	29.0
Carpool	3	.7
Ride with someone	5	1.3
Other	2	6.0
	318	100.0

POLITICS

In Milwaukee, the Political climate of the Puerto Rican community is marked by indifference and disunity. Political participation in traditional party politics is low, voter registration is below average, and Puerto Ricans and Latinos run for public office only infrequently; there are signs that this is changing.

Puerto Ricans are scattered widely throughout the city: large numbers are concentrated in very few areas, thus, their potential political strength is weakened. This situation is made worse by the fact that many Puerto Ricans of voting age are not registered.

The Latin American Union for Civil Rights, founded by Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other Hispanos during the late 1960's, was the focal point for political action for the Latino community, both Puerto Rican and Chicano, in the early 1970's. Today, it is identified within the Hispanic community and in the broader community as a Chicano Organization, a fact which keeps many Puerto Ricans and others away.[30]

Language difficulties have impeded participation, too. In the elections held in April 1976, only 19 percent of those surveyed voted. Over 11 percent of those interviewed stated that they did not know how to vote, and 79 percent stated that no one ever tried to register their family. As many as 55.3 percent said that they would be inclined to vote if campaign literature was printed in Spanish.

In September 1973, a federal district court judge in New York City ordered the Board of Elections to run a bilingual election on November 6, 1973, with all amendments, propositions and voting instructions printed in Spanish as well as English. The Board of Elections was also directed to assign translators to all polling places in areas where the 1970 census showed five percent or more Spanish-speaking residents.

This small victory for the use of Spanish in New York City elections was diminished when the system first was put into effect. During the primary elections held in September 1974, the Spanish translation, done by an Anglo was so full of mistakes that it confused the voters. But, despite this setback, the principle of bilingualism in the electoral process was established and soon spread to the states of New Jersey and Massachusetts. In Milwaukee, the census tracts involved in the survey show five percent or more of Spanish-speaking people; thus, bilingual elections could be held in these census tracts in order to guarantee the Puerto Rican and other Latinos full political participation.

EDUCATION

The schooling of Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee has gone through various stages. During the early years of the migration (1948-1954), Puerto Rican students of all ages were placed in regular classes, even though they were unable to communicate with other students or their teacher. A common belief among educators then was that this would force the student to communicate in English, thus facilitating the speedy learning of the language. As more Puerto Ricans began to arrive, the school-age population also began to increase. With the concentration of Puerto Ricans in the northeast side of the city, the Puerto Rican student population in schools in that area increased rapidly. There were less than a handful of students in 1951, by 1953, this number had grown to 60.[31]

Confronted by an enlarged non-English speaking population in 1954, the Milwaukee Public School System (MPS) was forced to initiate a program. It considered this program "unique," even though it was a carbon copy of a one implemented at an earlier date in New York City. The MPS program involved teaching the English language to Puerto Rican children

from the lower east side of Milwaukee at Thomas Jefferson School. A daily schedule of classes was established in which the students stayed in their regular grades most of the day, but during one class period they were isolated and taught a concentrated English as a Second Language (ESL) course aimed at furthering their English language skills.[32]

Soon administrators at MPS began to realize that their earlier program had failed in achieving its goals: students were not learning English and were not achieving in schools. In June of 1957, Robert Eimerman attempted to describe the situation and proposed remedies to correct it. In a master's thesis, presented to the faculty at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, he offered some insights on the educational problems faced by Puerto Rican children. He recognized that a different approach was necessary in providing for their educational needs. According to Eimerman, emphasis had to be placed in five areas:

1. Adjustment to living in an urban community;
2. Citizenship and American heritages in relation to Milwaukee;
3. Pride in the student's own Puerto Rican heritage;
4. Health and nutritional problems as found in Milwaukee;
5. The effective use of oral and written communication in English.[33]

For the first time in Milwaukee, an educator was stressing the need for what later was to become known as bilingual/bicultural education as an effective vehicle for the education of non-English speaking students. In addition, Eimerman set out to develop a curriculum for the Puerto Rican students that stressed an awareness of his immediate community and took into account the five areas outlined above.

Little was done to incorporate Eimerman's recommendations. Had this occurred, Milwaukee would have preceded the rest of the nation with a Spanish

bilingual/bicultrual program for Puerto Ricans. They would come to this, though, more than a decade later.

During the sixties little progress was made to change the educational process in order to better meet the needs of Puerto Rican students. However, in 1965, an attempt was made to review again the quality of educational programs for Puerto Rican students. That Spring, beginning in February, a monthly seminar was held to discuss the problems of the Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic students in Milwaukee. Participants included Mrs. Willard Downing, who represented the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in Milwaukee; and Reverend Gilbert Marrero, pastor of the Spanish Baptist Church. The high point of the half-year seminar was the May 19th session in which a movie was shown for discussion. The feature viewed, "West Side Story," could be said to be indicative of the degree of naivete of the educators involved. The film presented a stereotyped notion of Puerto Ricans as gang members who would sing and dance and, when necessary, do battle for their turf.[34]

By 1969, MPS received federal monies to begin a bilingual language program at three public schools and at Bruce-Guadalupe, an independent community school. The bilingual program was geared to develop the reading and study skills of the students as well as to create cultural awareness. During the 1969-1973 period, the bilingual program in Milwaukee was sponsored exclusively by federal monies and, in 1974, the City Wide Bilingual Bicultural Advisory Committee (CWBBAC) was formed in reaction to the reluctance of MPS to expand existing bilingual programs for Hispanic students.[35]

In 1975, about 1,900 Puerto Ricans attended MPS. Of these, according to MPS figures, 22 percent were attending a bilingual program. (Table X.) Nevertheless, one year later, these figures were much higher in the Puerto Rican Organization Study: 80 percent of the respondents stated that their

children were attending a bilingual program. Surprisingly enough, while 60 percent of the Hispanic school population is Mexican/Chicano and other Hispanic (non-Puerto Rican), more Puerto Rican students are actually enrolled in MPS bilingual programs (Table XI)

Table X

MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS HISPANO-AMERICAN CENSUS
SPANISH BACKGROUND, OCTOBER 1975

Level	Total Enrollment	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Other Spanish	Total
Elementary	61,960	1,538	1,252	326	3,116
Junior High	23,100	351	313	114	778
Senior High	28,794	479	334	79	892
GRAND TOTAL	113,854	2,368	1,899	519	4,786

Source: Milwaukee Public School. Interim Report of the Bilingual Education Project. 31 December 1975, p. 79

Table XI

TITLE VII ESEA MILWAUKEE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM, 1975-1976
ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE DOMINANCE, NOVEMBER 1975

	Ethnic Background					Dominant Language		Bilingualism		
Level	Anglo	Black	Mex	P.R.	Other	Eng	Sp	Bilingual	Monolingual Eng	
Elementary	23	28	211	225	7	224	280	283	130	91
Secondary	1	0	135	192	1	*213	*135	350*	8*	10*
TOTAL	24	28	356	417	8	437	415	633	138	101

*December 1975
Data available by school and grade level

Source: Milwaukee Public School Interim Report, P. 79

Many programs of Bilingual/Bicultural Education are reduced to remedial projects directed toward improving English language skills among Spanish speaking students, but MPS is committed to a Bilingual maintenance program.[36] Thus, attention is given to the Hispanic socio-cultural content and to the maintenance of the Spanish language. Possibly related to this feature is the finding that 83.2 percent of those interviewed stated that their children were maintaining their Puerto Rican culture and heritage at home and at school. Nevertheless, several parents (26.4 percent) felt that their children were not being taught by teachers who spoke or understood their child's culture. While 86.1 percent felt that their children were learning skills necessary for survival in the United States, this should not be interpreted as a measure of success by MPS in educating Puerto Rican students.

It is too early to assess the degree of success of Bilingual education in Milwaukee. The passage of the Wisconsin Bilingual Bicultural Education Act in 1976 will undoubtedly have an impact on MPS programs. Coupled with this is the expansion of Bilingual education programs which is planned as part of the MPS school desegregation plan. Under this plan, the number of schools offering bilingual bicultural education will increase from 12 to 19 in 1977-1979. At this point, no definite assessment of these efforts is possible, given the limited data base available to researchers on this important aspect of the Puerto Rican experience in Milwaukee.

INTO THE 1980's

Twenty-five years have passed since the "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" was established and Puerto Ricans began arriving in the city of Milwaukee. Thus far an attempt has been made to present a number of aspects concerning the Puerto Rican migration to Milwaukee.

One crucial aspect of the Puerto Rican experience not mentioned before is the problem of identity. As the Puerto Ricans look forward to the 1980's, Antonio S. Pedreira's classic, Insularismo, and the questions posed by him in that book are still valid to the Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee: What are we? Where are we going?[37]

In recent years, many Puerto Ricans on the island have come face to face with the question of identity. In all colonial situations, the culture which prevails is the culture of the colonizer. Thus, the crucial question of culture centers around the colonial status of the island, each party pressing a different political solution. In Milwaukee, at one time or another, the Puerto Rican has been called "Rican," "Boricua," "New Yorican," the more pejorative "Spics" and, more specific to the Milwaukee case, "Pork Chops."

Inspired by the Black Power Movement and the Chicano Brown Berets in the early 1970's, a new organization, the Young Lords, attempted to unite and politicize the Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee.

The Young Lords Organization began in Chicago as a street gang in the early 1960's. By 1968, the Young Lords had increased their political and social awareness and soon evolved into a Third World party.[38] In 1971 the Young Lords organized in Milwaukee, there they published El Young Lord, a monthly newspaper. Although they constituted a controversial segment within the

Puerto Rican community, they used the question of race and language and the issue of Puerto Rican independence as a rallying point for the identity problem. By 1973 the Young Lords had faded out and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) took up the banner for a short time. It, too, has disappeared.

One reason why both the Young Lords and the PSP failed as third world parties in Milwaukee was because the local leadership's concern for community oriented issues outweighed the push by these organizations for national political issues related to Puerto Rican independence. In more recent years, the PSP has not been able to survive in Milwaukee because of its nationalist orientation. It excludes many young Chicano and Anglo militants. In Milwaukee, where 55% of the Latino population is Chicano, exclusion of this element from political action will almost always lead to failure. Conversely, exclusion of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos from political action by Chicano groups has crippled their efforts and severely reduced their effectiveness.

At present, the Puerto Rican Organization is committed to preserving and fomenting the identity of the Puerto Rican. Also, the formation of another group in 1977, Organo Cultural Puertorriqueno, a PSP oriented group, is evidence that measures are being taken to maintain a viable and visible Puerto Rican community in Milwaukee.[39]

Questions like these arise as the Puerto Ricans look forward to the 1980's: Will there still be a Puerto Rican community in Milwaukee? Will Milwaukee Puerto Ricans have a place and a people to whom they can return to, and, hand in hand join in the task of reconstructing an authentic Puerto Rican way of life, founded on the principles of freedom and justice?

If the Puerto Rican in Milwaukee is to survive into the 1980's, it is crucial that Pedreira's questions be answered. "There has to be always a cultural

entity," as the Journal of Contemporary Puerto Rican Thought editorialized, "not just a geographical location but a people if we, as Puerto Ricans, are to survive and maintain a sense of identity. It will require a prolonged, conscious effort from all Puerto Ricans, wherever they may be located, if we are to remain Puerto Ricans." [40]

FOOTNOTES

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5. The Milwaukee Journal, 6 April 1958.

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12. A quotation from the survey material. Citations provide the sex, age and census tract number of the respondent. In this case, these are: F (for sex); 20 (for age); 106 (for census tract).

13. Morris, Op cit., p.

14. Joseph Bram, "Spirits, Mediums and Believers in Contemporary Puerto Rico," Transactions of the New Academy of Medicine (1957): 340-347; Milton Silva, "The Spiritualists Healers as Community Mental Health Workers," The Journal of Contemporary Puerto Rican Thought 2 (Number 4, 1975): 45-49.

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17. Female, 23 years old, census tract 106.

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Appendix I

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

Sex	Age	Comment
M	27	I... can't find a job (because) I cannot speak English.
M	25	I need assistance in communicating my needs for example, (in) writing out forms. I need a translator constantly.
F	31	(The) lack of English has caused difficulties for them (sic).
M	75	(I) arrived in this country in (my)... old age. (The) lack of English causes (me) difficulties.
F	62	(I dislike) not being able to get around (the) neighborhood without an interpreter, also (the) stores are too far away.
M	39	(I) would like to learn English for (a) better paying job.
F	25	(My) husband always needs (an) interpreter.
F	40	(I) never had (the) opportunity to learn English because (the) care of the family came first.
F	33	I have difficulties with both languages (Spanish and English).
M	32	(My) wife has difficulties with English but (I help her out).
F	60	I don't speak English (and) I always need an interpreter.
F	38	(I have) many difficulties due to the lack of English.
F	59	I have difficulty obtaining needed help or anything else unless (I'm) accompanied by an interpreter.

Appendix II

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - HEALTH CARE

Sex	Age	Comment
F	20	We need counseling for health and legal matters.
F	64	(We) need a free Latin clinic for the Latin elderly who do not speak or understand English.
M	82	More Spanish nurses needed.
M	23	(An) emergency clinic... (is) needed.
M	39	(I have a) retarded son (and) Social Security will not help. (This) area (also) needs (a) medical emergency clinic...
F	23	There should be an emergency center for the people.
M	20	We need a free clinic because doctors are too expensive.
F	25	A traveling nurse is needed for the elderly.
F	19	(I am) dissatisfied with (the) diagnosis and care at (the Milwaukee) County Hospital. (I also) believe (that)a children's clinic staffed with Spanish speaking personnel. (My) mother needs (an) interpreter when seeking medical help.

Appendix III

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - YOUTH PROBLEMS

Sex	Age	Comment
M	47	Some of the problems facing youth are drugs: (There is) not enough parental guidance and neglect of parents.
M	53	Major problems affecting youth in our area are robbery, drugs and theft.
M	52	Drugs are one of the problems of youth.
M	84	The problems are drugs, theft, and no respect for older people.
M	49	The problems are drugs and violence.
F	36	(The biggest) problems are drugs and too much liberty.
F		The big problem is drinking.
M	65	Major problems affecting youths in the neighborhood are too much liberty and parental neglect.
F	41	Young people are affected by the problems of drugs, violence and hard liquor.
F	40	The youth problems are violence, liquor and drugs.
F	27	The taverns are a major problem for the youth of the neighborhood.
F	19	Three major problems affecting young people in the neighborhood are drugs, liquor and violence.
M	47	The three major problems affecting young people in the neighborhood are drugs, liquor and violence.

Youth Problems

Sex	Age	Comment
M	27	Lack of communication is major problem affecting youth.
M	56	Three problems of youths in the neighborhood are drinking, lack of respect and television which makes (the) youth more aggressive.
F	31	Parents give children too much freedom. Because of this we have the drug and drinking problem.
F	43	The children do not respect (the) people's property.
M	39	Lack of recreation (is) a big problem for young people.
F	33	Three problems affecting young people in (the) neighborhood are no jobs, nothing to do, and showing off.
F	65	Problems affecting the youth in the neighborhood are nothing to do and unfriendly neighbors.
F	25	The lack of jobs is the major problem affecting young people.
F	23	The major problems affecting young people in the neighborhood are drugs, lack of recreational facilities and irresponsible parents.
M	47	Youth needs (sic) attention and order.
F	40	Drugs and fighting are major problems affecting young people in the neighborhood.
F	32	The three major problems affecting young people in the neighborhood are the drugs, liquor and violence.
M	32	The problem of the young is not enough jobs which leads the youth to deviant behavior (drugs).

Youth Problems

Sex	Age	Comment
F	60	The major problems (sic) affecting youths in the neighborhood is unorganization.
F	38	The major problem affecting young people in the neighborhood is drugs.
F	59	(The b)ig problem with the youth in the neighborhood are the drugs and violence.
M	50	The young people in the area are into drugs, alcohol, vandalism and too much freedom.
F		Youth have the problem of dropping out of school, no place to go and lack of communication with adults.
F	23	A major problem affecting the youth is drugs.
F	20	(The b) ig problem with young people in the neighborhood are drugs and violence.
F	18	Drugs, liquor and gossip are problems facing the young people in the neighborhood.
M	33	The youth problems are the drugs, fighting and violence.
M	42	Major problems among the youth are drugs, liquor and smoking.
F		The youth problems are drugs and robberies.
F	41	The drugs, fighting and school problems are the worse problems affecting youth.
F	40	The three big problems among youth are drugs, violence and stealing.
F	19	Drugs, violence and maybe too many parents that really don't care (are the major problems affecting youth).

Youth Problems

Sex	Age	Comment
F	20	(I feel that) one of the major problems (affecting youth) are drugs that make the young act crazy.
M	35	Problems affecting (youth) are drugs, fights and alcohol.
M	24	The problems are drugs and violence.
F	64	Drugs are the biggest problem.
F	79	Drugs and drinking are the main problems.

Appendix IV

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS

Sex	Age	Comment
F	56	There should be more safety measures for the street.
M	41	Empty lots should be used for playgrounds for children.
M	23	There are too many thefts in the area.
F	28	The three things liked least about the neighborhood are: not enough recreation facilities for children, not enough police protection at night and the community is not close, it lacks communication.
F	27	The three big problems in the neighborhood are drugs, violence and liquor.
F	26	Drugs and robberies are major problems in (the) neighborhood.
M	31	Too many bad things (are) going on (in the neighborhood).
F	46	Drugs, liquor and violence are biggest problems in the area.
M	40	Our biggest problem is drugs.
F	28	Our store has been robbed and somebody tried to unlock (our) garage door.
M	39	(I do not) like (the) neighborhood (because I) was robbed once. Home property values are too low. (The a)lley (is too) dangerous for (my) wife who works nights.

Neighborhood Problems

Sex	Age	Comment
F	31	I am afraid to go outside into the neighborhood at night for fear of being beaten.
F		I am frightened in my neighborhood at night.
M	25	The neighborhood need(s) more recreational facilities.
F	41	I do not like the neighborhood because the streets are filthy and the people do not take care of anything.
F	19	(I) like the neighborhood except for the black people.
F	20	(My) mother does not feel safe at night because someone broke into her previous home.
F	25	I moved to Milwaukee just two weeks ago, but I don't feel safe at night because of a lot of bad things happening.

Appendix V

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - RECREATION

Sex	Age	Comment
M	30	(We) need safer areas for children to play (in).
M	20	Some kinds (sic) of recreational facilities are needed so that the young people can enjoy themselves without endangering their lives out on the streets.
F	43	(We need to) get (the) kids mind off sex by having recreational facilities.
F	41	We need a park that is closer because the one closest is only for blacks.
M	41	Empty lots should be used for playgrounds for children.

Appendix VI

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - TRANSPORTATION

Sex	Age	Comment
F	36	Transportation is needed when my child needs to go to the hospital. If not avaiiable I take care of him at home.
M	34	I need transportation to (the) doctor...

Appendix VII

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - LATINO COMMUNITY IN GENERAL

Sex	Age	Comment
M	38	We would like community information about all sorts of needs and activities.
M	28	More community spirit is needed.
M	34 or 39	(The) Latino community is divided; we need to work together. Everyone (is) working for himself (and) not for the community. (We) need to be United together.
F	26	Job opportunities should be at the disposal of Latins.
M	47	(I) have a problem in not being able to find a good job.
F		(I) don't believe the Puerto Rican Center is providing adequate services to the community.
F	25	The day care centers are too expensive; and the people in the neighborhood are not organized.
M	25	(The community) needs more police protection (and the) Latin people need organization.
F	19	(My) father has (a) problem getting a loan due to having many children. (I) feel (that the) police could help more (in) solving problems but all they do is discriminate against us.
F	36	I need assistance to find a better home, a job for my daugher and help with my bills.
F	27	We need Hispanic judges, drugstores (druggists?) and someone to advise the Hispanic elderly.

Appendix VIII

RESPONDENT COMMENTS - ORGANIZATION PARTICIPATION

		1	2	3	Number	Percent
1.	Labor Union	36	1	1	38	32.0
2.	Fraternal Organization or Lodges	2	-	-	2	1.7
3.	Veterans Organization	-	2	-	2	1.7
4.	School Groups	7	3	-	10	8.4
5.	Civic and Service Groups	3	5	1	9	7.5
6.	Youth Groups	5	1	2	8	6.7
7.	Neighborhood Improvement Association	1	1	-	2	1.7
8.	Social Clubs	5	2	1	8	6.7
9.	Ethnic and National Organizations	4	2	2	8	6.7
10.	Sport Team	4	8	2	14	11.8
11.	Professional Groups	-	1	1	2	1.7
12.	Community Action Organizations	1	-	1	2	1.7
13.	Hobby Clubs	1	2	2	5	4.2
14.	Church Groups	3	2	4	9	7.5
How Active						
1.	Very Active	31	12	8	51	31.0
2.	Normally Active	26	15	4	96	60.0
3.	Not Very Active	9	2	3	14	9.0

Colums 1--3 represent number of respondents.